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ABSTRACT

The General Accounting Office (GAO) analyzed Current Population Survey (CPS) data for 1995-2000 to assess the situation of women managers in 10 industries that employ over 70 percent of women workers. Despite a sense of continued progress toward gender equality in the workplace, in the 10 industries employing 71 percent of United States (US) women workers and 73 percent of US women managers, data showed women managers continued to lag behind their male counterparts in both advancement and pay. In 7 industries, the wage gap actually widened. Women continued to be underrepresented in management and held a share of management jobs proportionate to their share of the industry workforce in only 5 industries. Women's record presence in the work force was not matched by their presence in the more influential and economically advantageous positions. Women's earnings now peaked at ages 45-54, just as men's did. Women often selected industries and occupations that enabled them to combine work and family responsibilities. Jobs where women predominated generally paid less than jobs where men predominated. Occupational segregation produced different levels of management and different management tracks, including tracks that led nowhere. In 2000, the pay gap among all working women and men was widest among parents. (Contains 12 endnotes) (YLB)

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ED 468 605

A New Look Through the Glass Ceiling:

Where are the Women?

The Status of Women in Management in Ten Selected Industries

January 2002

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Data for this report were compiled by the U.S. General Accounting Office, and analyzed by the staffs of Representatives John D. Dingell (D-MI) and Carolyn B. Maloney (D-NY).

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Executive Summary

This report provides a review of the status of women in management positions in ten selected industries. Representatives Dingell and Maloney asked the General Accounting Office to compile data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) to determine how women in management are faring today as compared with five years ago and to further understand the continuing impact of the glass ceiling on women's advancement to the top. While not an academic-level study, the CPS data give a point-in-time snapshot of women's status in management positions relative to men's.

Recently, a number of different organizations have issued reports on the status of women in specific career areas ranging from media to law to the financial services industry. However, this is the first such review that evaluates a large number of industries across a wide variety of areas in an effort to understand where women are progressing and where they are falling behind their male counterparts. While more study is needed, the data suggest possible trends that are cause for concern and merit more research.

Despite a sense of continued progress toward gender equality in the workplace, in ten industries employing 71 percent of U.S. women workers and 73 percent of U.S. women managers, the data show that women managers continue to lag behind their male counterparts in both advancement and pay.

The majority of women managers were worse off, relative to men, in 2000 than they were in 1995.

Perhaps even more startling, the data show that in 7 of the 10 industries, the wage gap between male and female managers actually widened between 1995 and 2000. In other words, the majority of women managers actually did better, relative to men, in 1995 than they did in 2000. Occurring as it did during a time of economic prosperity, this increased wage gap is particularly troubling.

The GAO data also show that women continue to be underrepresented in management. In *only* 5 of the 10 industries reviewed do women hold a share of management jobs proportionate to their share of the industry workforce. Thus, women's record presence in the work force is not matched by their presence in the more influential and economically advantageous positions.

In response to this continuing problem, Representatives Dingell and Maloney intend to continue to address the status of women in the workforce and the challenges they face in advancing their careers. In an effort to bring attention to this issue, the Representatives plan to work together in Congress to produce an annual review studying the status of women in management positions. It is imperative that a message be sent to American workers and employers alike that women deserve equality in the workplace.

The Offices of Representatives Dingell and Maloney would like to thank Dr. Martha Farnsworth Riche, former Director of the U.S. Census Bureau, for her assistance on this project.

Key Findings

Despite a sense of continued progress toward gender equality in the workplace, in ten industries employing 71 percent of U.S. women workers and 73 percent of U.S. women managers:

- Full-time women managers earned less than their male counter parts in both 1995 and 2000.
- In seven of the ten industries, the earnings gap between full-time women and men managers actually widened between 1995 and 2000.
- Only five of the industries had women managers in the same proportion as women in the industry's work force in 2000.

Purpose

Over the past year, a number of different organizations, including the Annenberg Public Policy Center, Catalyst, and the American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession, have published reports revealing the status of women in specific career areas ranging from media to law to the financial services industry. (For an annotated list, please see page 15 of this report.) The statistics are particularly concerning. For example, one of the reports found that while women make up 46.5% of the workforce,[1] they represent only 12% of all corporate officers.[2] The implication of this disparity is important to all women, at every job level, as evidence of equality must occur across the spectrum of job levels. Further, women entering the workforce should have every assurance that the same opportunities for com-

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pensation and advancement available to their male counterparts are equally open to them.

Acting on their concerns about the disparity of women's status relative to men's in the workplace, Representatives John D. Dingell (D-MI) and Carolyn B. Maloney (D-NY) requested the General Accounting Office (GAO) to analyze the Current Population Survey (CPS) for the years 1995 and 2000 to assess the situation of women managers in ten industries that employ over 70 percent of women workers. Though not an academic-level study, this point-in-time snapshot of women's status in management positions is the first of a series of reviews that evaluates a large number of industries in an effort to understand where women are progressing and where they are falling behind their male counterparts.

While more study is needed, the data suggest possible trends that are cause for concern and merit more research. Representatives Dingell and Maloney's goal is to further understanding of the position of women managers in the workforce, and to facilitate an ongoing dialogue in an effort to shatter the "glass ceiling."

THE GLASS CEILING

The "glass ceiling" has come to mean an invisible, but virtually impenetrable, barrier between women and the executive suite, preventing them from reaching the highest levels of the corporate world regardless of their accomplishments and merits. The term refers to specific attitudinal and organizational barriers that severely limit opportunities for the upward mobility of qualified women candidates.[3]

The goal of the Glass Ceiling Commission was to identify glass ceiling barriers and expand practices and policies which promote employment opportunities for the advancement of minorities and women in positions of responsibility.

In response to this problem, the Civil Rights Act of 1991 established the Glass Ceiling Commission. The 21-member body was appointed by former President Bush and Congressional leaders and chaired by the Secretary of Labor. "Its goal was to identify glass ceiling barriers and expand practices and policies which promote employment opportunities for the advancement of minorities and women in positions of responsibility."[4] While the efforts of the Commission may have been felt and enjoyed by some, this report reveals that women are still struggling to jump the hurdles toward advancement.

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF GAO STUDY

Representatives Dingell and Maloney asked GAO to analyze data from the Current Population Survey (CPS)[5] for ten industries[6] that account for an overwhelming share of U.S. women employees (71.3 percent in 2000). Specifically, they requested information about:

- Key demographic characteristics of women and men in management positions.
- Representation of women in management positions.
- Salary differentials between women and men in full-time manage ment positions.

The CPS has two important limitations for assessing women's progress into management. First, it lacks two important factors for determining salary levels: years of experience, and level of managerial responsibility. Second, since the data are self-reported by respondents, rather than by employers, there is an inherent degree of error. However, the value of the CPS for monitoring women's advancement is that it contains demographic data that previous research has found correlated with management status for women, including age, race, educational attainment, and family and living arrangements.

ANALYSIS

Recent government data reports have found continued progress for women in the work place.[7]

Important gains include:

- The wage gap between women and men full-time wage and salary workers declined to 76 percent in 2000 from 63 percent in 1979, the first year that comparable data became available.
- Women's earnings now peak at ages 45-54, just as men's do, as women are now common in the work force at all ages. (Still, the wage gap for older women is much greater than it is for younger women.)

However, the data also show that women managers are not gaining to the same extent as women workers.

Were Women Managers Better Off in 1995 Than in 2000?

In both 1995 and 2000, women managers earned less than their male counterparts in all ten industries studied. In seven of the ten industries, women managers' salaries actually declined relative to men managers' between 1995 and 2000. For example, in 1995 a full-time female manager in the communications industry earned $.86 for every $1.00 earned by a full-time male manager. Five years later, a full-time female manager in the same industry earned $.73 for every $1.00 earned by a full-time male manager.

Salary Differentials, Full-Time Managers

These seven industries are largely private sector industries. In contrast, the three industries where the salary gap narrowed are in the public sector, or are heavily regulated: education, hospitals and medical services, and public administration.

This persistent and, in the private sector, widening pay gap is not due to factors commonly associated with managerial capabilities, interest, or simple discrimination: i.e., education, age, marital status, or race. The GAO analysis controlled for these factors.[8] Moreover, the proportion of management positions in these industries filled by women was the same—48 percent—in both years.

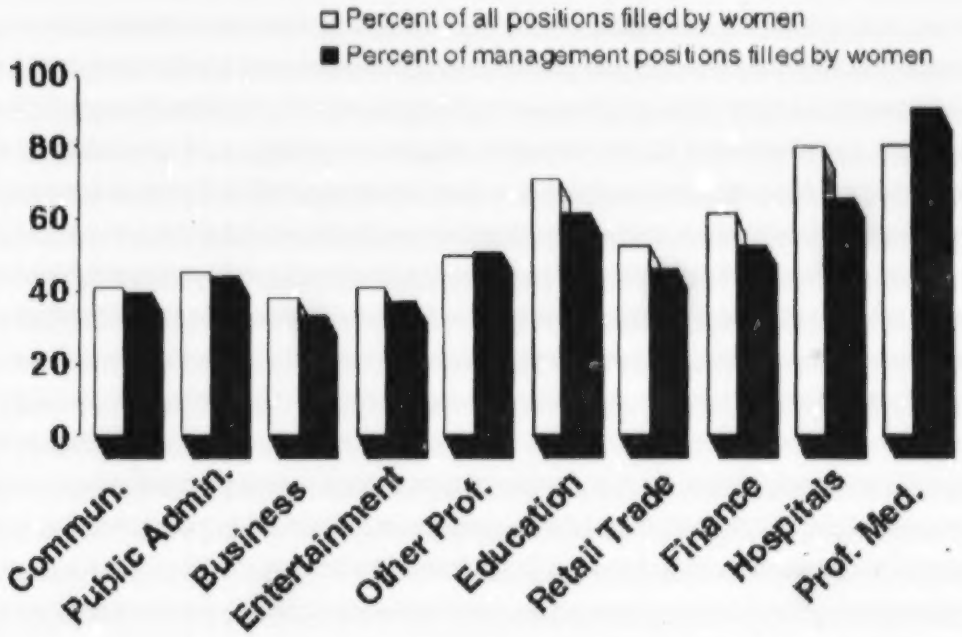
In *only* five of the ten industries studied do women hold a share of management jobs proportionate to their share of the industry work force.

Clearly, more detailed research is called for to understand whether and how women's advancement is stalled. For instance, has an influx of new, younger women managers obscured gains for older, experienced women managers? Did the broad definition of managers used by the GAO obscure shifts to lower-paid, lower status managerial and administrative positions? Did restructuring within or across industries eliminate managerial positions that women tend to hold at the expense of positions men tend to hold? Certainly research elsewhere suggests that when jobs in a given industry become more technical, the work force, including low-level managers, tends to shift from women to men.

"His" and "Her" Jobs

The GAO data show that in *only* five of the ten industries studied do women hold a share of management jobs proportionate to their share of the industry work force. These were the five industries in which women make up 50 percent or less of the industry work force.

Representation of Women in Management, 2000



Women and men managers tend to work in different occupations and industries, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. For example, personnel or human relations managers are more likely to be women, while purchasing managers are more likely to be men. Managers in marketing, advertising, and public relations are more likely to be men; administrators in education and related fields are more likely to be women.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics found that in 2000 the pay gap among all working women and men was widest among parents.

Studies show that women often select industries and occupations that enable them to combine work and family responsibilities, and that jobs where women predominate generally pay less than jobs where men predominate. And in some industries, while women may hold "management" titles, their positions are "often [in] less strategic, lower-paying areas of the company's operations."[9]

For example, the GAO analysis found that female managers in finance are 50 percent less likely to have a college degree than male managers in the same industry. They also make only $.76 for every male manager dollar. Even though these women are labeled "managers," the data suggest that they are in positions that require less education and are lower paying.

The GAO also found that the only one of the industries studied where women account for a greater number of managers than men is one in which management jobs have relatively lower status: professional medical services. In this industry, status and pay are highest for professional occupations, not for managers and administrators, more than three-fourths of whom are women. (This is also the only one of the ten industries in which women's representation in management exceeds their representation in the industry as a whole.) The educational disadvantage of female managers relative to male managers in this industry is particularly great, suggesting that here, too, the nature of women managers' jobs is different.

The only one of the industries studied where women account for a greater number of managers than men is one in which management jobs have relatively lower status: professional medical services.

Moreover, occupational segregation produces different levels of management and different management tracks, including tracks that lead nowhere. Even women who are on the "right" track must be monitored to reveal how long it takes to get to senior management positions, if at all. As we note in the next section, advancement is often constrained by the time women (rarely men) take out of the workforce to raise their family.

The Balancing Game: Career and Family

Overall, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that in 2000 the pay gap among all working women and men was widest among parents.[10] And although both men and women managers need to reconcile work with family, the CPS data suggest that combining parenthood with advancement into management is particularly difficult for women. Just looking at married managers (those most likely to be sharing their parenting responsibilities), nearly 60 percent of male managers in these ten industries have children in the home, compared to little more than 40 percent of female managers (working full- or part-time). Over all industries, over two-thirds of married male managers are raising children, compared to less than a third of married women managers. This discrepancy suggests that difficulties in combining family and work are a significant constraint on women's attack on the glass ceiling.

Combining work with parenting is a challenge for all women...across all industries, nearly 60 percent of women managers do not currently have children in the home.

The Census Bureau reports that women have become less likely to interrupt their work schedules when their first child is born, and that "women today are making longer-term commitments to the labor force."[11] Yet combining work with parenting is a challenge for all women, given their disproportionate responsibilities at home, particularly in relation to children. Not surprisingly, there are considerably fewer women managers with parenting responsibilities than without, regardless of marital status. According to the CPS data, across all industries, nearly 60 percent of women managers do not currently have children in the home. Among the 10 industries covered by this report, the proportion ranges from 55 percent (in professional medical services) to 69 percent (in entertainment). It requires further research to identify the extent to which women enter management *after* they have raised a family—and therefore at older ages—or the extent to which some delay having a family to advance their careers, so long that they forego children altogether.

Time-use data consistently show that women work longer hours (paid plus unpaid) than men work and perform the majority of the unpaid household work.[12] Part-time employment can reduce this load, and the GAO found that women managers are more likely to work part-time than their male counterparts. But working part-time can also make a women's advancement more difficult. Part-time workers tend to be seen as secondary employees and therefore not as important or crucial to a company's worth or growth. They are also more likely to be cut off from "networking" as they are not in the office as often as their full-time colleagues. Yet a separate tabulation of the 2000 CPS found that women with children under age 18 in the home (married, or with a partner) have the highest rates of part-time employment by far.

Time-use data consistently show that women work longer hours (paid plus unpaid) than men work and perform the majority of the unpaid household work.

While many women have successfully pushed for the opportunity of working part-time to balance work and family, this schedule has many potential negative implications for women. These include: ineligibility for healthcare, continued need to pay for childcare (often equaling the salary of a part-time employee), and a reduction in their eventual Social Security benefits. A more comprehensive study is needed to better understand the "penalties" associated with working part-time, along with other strategies women use to maintain a career while simultaneously bearing the brunt of family care.

Conclusion

While there is some indication that women managers are doing better than they were in the past, the glass ceiling seems to be firmly in place. Though not an academic-level study, this point-in-time snapshot of women's status in management positions is the first of a series of reviews that evaluates a large number of industries in an effort to understand where women are progressing and where they are falling behind their male counterparts. Our next step is to analyze the more detailed data from the 2000 Census, which will be released later this year. GAO's tabulations of this data will allow us to look at women manager's progress (or lack thereof) more closely and precisely. We are hopeful that this new, proposed study will help us determine ways in which we can prompt better practices, remove attitudinal barriers, and help women shatter the glass ceiling.

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[1] http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat9.pdf

[2] http://www.catalystwomen.org/Press_Room/press_releases/1999_cote.htm

[3] For a description of these barriers, see "The Unfinished Agenda: Women and the Legal Profession," American Bar Association, 2001, 6-8.

[4] See: http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/library/e_archive/gov_reports/GlassCeiling/default.html

[5] Current Population Survey (CPS) refers to the "monthly nationwide survey of a scientifically selected sample representing the noninstitutional civilian population." U.S. Census Bureau, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: The National Data Book" (1), 120th edition, 2000.

[6] The ten industries included: 1. Communications; 2. Public Administration; 3. Business and Repair Services; 4. Entertainment and Recreation Services; 5. Other Professional Services; 6. Educational Services; 7. Retail Trade; 8. Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate; 9. Hospitals and Medical Services; and 10. Professional Medical Services (see Appendix p.5).

[7] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highlights of Women's Earnings in 2000." Report 952, August 2001.

[8] See Appendix, GAO Report, 6.

[9] See Wirth, *Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling*, 57.

[10] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highlights of Women's Earnings in 2000." Report 952, August 2001.

[11] U.S. Census Bureau. "Maternity Leave and Employment Patterns, 1961-1995."

[12] See Crittenden, *The Price of Motherhood*, 22.

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http://www.uri.edu/affirmative_action/glass_ceiling_gen_info.htm

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Recent Reports

Recently released reports on the status of women in selected industries:

Jobs Survey of U.S. Life Scientists. American Association for the Advancement of Science. Washington, DC, October 2001 (http://www.sciencecareers.org)

Found that women scientists earn nearly one-third less than their male counterparts.

Rhode, Deborah L. "The Unfinished Agenda: Women and the Legal Profession." American Bar Association Commission on Women and the Profession. Chicago, 2001. (http://www.abanet.org/women/home.html)

Found that despite substantial progress toward equal opportunity, women in law remain underrepresented in positions of greatest status, influence and economic reward.

Sheree L. Beverly. "2000 House Staff Employment Study." Congressional Management Foundation, Washington, DC, 2000. (http://www.cmfweb.org/)

Found that males hold a disproportionate share of executive and policy positions, while females hold a disproportionate share of mid-level and support positions. Moreover, males tend to earn higher salaries than females in the chief of staff position and the press secretary position.

Slass, Lorie. "Progress or No Room at the Top? The Role of Women in Telecommunications, Broadcast, Cable, and E-Companies." Annenberg Public Policy Center, Philadelphia, March 2001. (http://www.appcpenn.org/women/)

Found that women account for only 9 percent of the board members in major media, telecom and e-companies, and only 13 percent of the top executives in those companies.

Who's Talking? An Analysis of Sunday Morning Talk Shows. The White House Project, New York, December 2001. (http://www.thewhitehouseproject.org)

Found that women are seriously underrepresented as guests on the Sunday morning talk shows, limiting their access to the power of agenda-setting television programs in shaping elite and public opinion.

Women in Financial Services: The Word on the Street. Catalyst, New York, July 2001. (http://www.catalystwomen.org)

Found that large majorities of women cite several barriers to women's advancement in their firms, whereas most men cite only women's commitment to family or lack of experience as barriers.

Appendix

Women in Management: U.S. General Accounting Office Analysis of Selected Data From the Current Population Survey, October 2001.

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